LINCOLN'S MASTERPIECE

BY

ISAAC MARKENS

1913

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
The Institute of Museum and Library Services through an Indiana State Library LSTA Grant

http://www.archive.org/details/lincolnsmasterpi4924mark

M 2096

LINCOLN'S MASTERPIECE

A REVIEW OF THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS
NEW IN TREATMENT AND MATTER

BY

ISAAC MARKENS

WRITTEN ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DELIVERY OF THE ADDRESS, AT GETTYSBURG, NOVEMBER 19, 1863

Copyright, 1913, by ISAAC MARKENS
274 West 140th Street, New York

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM
THE BEQUEST OF
EVERT JANSEN WENDELL
1918

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

FOURSCORE AND SEVEN YEARS AGO OUR FATHERS BROUGHT FORTH ON THIS CONTINENT A NEW NATION, CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY, AND DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL. NOW WE ARE ENGAGED IN A GREAT CIVIL WAR, TESTING WHETHER THAT NATION, OR ANY NATION SO CONCEIVED AND SO DEDICATED, CAN LONG ENDURE. WE ARE MET ON A GREAT BATTLEFIELD OF THAT WAR. WE HAVE COME TO DEDICATE A PORTION OF THAT FIELD, AS A FINAL RESTING-PLACE FOR THOSE WHO HERE GAVE THEIR LIVES THAT THAT NATION MIGHT LIVE. IT IS ALTOGETHER FITTING AND PROPER THAT WE SHOULD DO THIS. BUT, IN A LARGER SENSE, WE CANNOT DEDICATE—WE CANNOT CONSECRATE—WE CANNOT HALLOW—THIS GROUND. THE BRAVE MEN, LIVING AND DEAD, WHO STRUGGLED HERE, HAVE CONSECRATED IT, FAR ABOVE OUR POOR POWER TO ADD OR DETRACT. THE WORLD WILL LITTLE NOTE, NOR LONG REMEMBER, WHAT WE SAY HERE, BUT IT CAN NEVER FORGET WHAT THEY DID HERE. IT IS FOR US, THE LIVING, RATHER, TO BE DEDICATED HERE TO THE UNFINISHED WORK WHICH THEY WHO FOUGHT HERE HAVE THUS FAR SO NOBLY ADVANCED. IT IS RATHER FOR US TO BE HERE DEDICATED TO THE GREAT TASK REMAINING BEFORE US—THAT FROM THESE HONORED DEAD WE TAKE INCREASED DEVOTION TO THAT CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY GAVE THE LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION—THAT WE HERE HIGHLY RESOLVE THAT THESE DEAD SHALL NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN—THAT THIS NATION, UNDER GOD, SHALL HAVE A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM—AND THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE, SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH.

LINCOLN'S MASTERPIECE

> By the battle of July 3, 1863, Gettysburg was made famous to all civilization. For this result were required the operations of 170,000 men and the cost of 7,000 lives. Its elevation as a spot of doubly historic interest was accomplished in the brief space of about two minutes by the voice of Abraham Lincoln. The occasion was the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery on November 19th, following the battle. It was then and there that the President, in the midst of 3,500 new-made graves, delivered the address which "shall not perish from the earth."

It was said by Charles Sumner, in a conversation with Joshua F. Speed shortly after the death of President Lincoln, that Lincoln's Gettysburg address would live when the memory of the battle was lost, or that the battle would be remembered only because of the address. In this observation of the Massachusetts statesman to the distinguished citizen of Kentucky we find a keener appreciation of what Lincoln said on that occasion than anything recorded in the mass of extant literature on the subject. Now that we are about to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the delivery of this remarkable composition and note its ever growing popularity, we may well contemplate the possible realization of Sumner's prophecy, while recalling the modest words of Lincoln on that November day in 1863—"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here."

The number of people attracted to Gettysburg on the day of the dedication was variously estimated as from 15,000 to

100,000. Equally conflicting accounts were published of the President's reception, of his attitude, and of his method of delivery. John G. Nicolay, his secretary, who was there, says, in the *Century Magazine* of February, 1894, that the Associated Press report of Lincoln's address shows six interruptions of applause. Nicolay does not claim, however, to have heard them. On the other hand, we find in other accounts of the address such statements as these: "There was not a ripple of applause." "It was faintly appreciated." "The remarkable words made no impression at all." "The vast audience was disappointed and declared as much." "Very little applause followed the address." "The judgment of the address at the time was not enthusiastically warm, but the applause at the end was spirited, not because of the beauty of the address, but thousands of soldiers were in the crowd and it was the tribute paid to them that caused appreciation." Clark E. Carr wrote in the Publications of the *Illinois State Historical Society* in 1906, that he heard every word of the address, and, except when Lincoln concluded, he observed none of the applause which appeared in the press reports.

Frequent punctuations of applause appear in the address, as printed in the Gettysburg *Sentinel*, of November 24. This is taken by some people in Gettysburg as evidence that the applause was a fact. They believe that Robert G. Harper, editor of the *Sentinel*, obtained an advance sopy of the address from Lincoln. Harper was a trained and painstaking journalist, and the address as he published, they claim represents just what he heard. They also overlook the possibility of his using the Associated Press report of the address, as printed in the great dailies, on the morning of November 20. These must have reached him the following day. The *Star and Sentinel* of Gettysburg, in its issue of November 19, 1913, discusses this question at length, with this admission: "Some remember the liberal applause that the *Sentinel* report indicates. Others with equal certainty deny that there was any outward expression of approval."

The address was also heard by Capt. Oliver N. Goldsmith of the Fifth New York regiment which escorted the President from Baltimore to Gettysburg. In the Chicago *Journal* of November

19, 1913, he is credited with this statement: "Lincoln's deep, powerful voice could be heard by every one. He made few gestures. I have often been asked whether there was any applause at the ceremony. There was not. It was a solemn occasion. As he resumed his seat not a sound could be heard. It seemed as if the throng held its breath for many minutes."

From the foregoing and many other similar accounts it would seem that the address fell upon unappreciative ears and was little noticed throughout the country. To account for this, it is necessary to recall existing conditions at that time, military and political. Presidential utterances had for long been of far less consequence than military successes, for failure in which McClellan, Burnside, and Hooker had been set adrift, to say nothing of Meade's inertia of the previous four months. For all of this the administration was held responsible. In short, Lincoln was then anything but popular. Lawyers, bankers, merchants and clergymen besieged the White House with advice how best to conduct the war. Antagonism at one time had assumed such a phase that Congressman James K. Moorehead of Pennsylvania, himself a Republican, told the President that influential men of his state, including some of those who had been his most earnest supporters, would be glad to hear some morning that he had been found hanging from the post of a lamp in front of the White House. At a period less remote, the prevailing feeling was reflected in a thrilling poem of six stanzas, written by Edmund C. Stedman, the closing lines of each reading, "Abraham Lincoln, give us a MAN." Only sixty days before the address, the vitriolic pen of "Count" Adam Gurowski entered this note in his well-known *Diary*—"Many of Lincoln's partisans admit that at the most favorable calculation the results up to date could easily have been obtained by a smaller expenditure of life, blood, money and time, if any will and foresight and energy presided at the helm."

The military situation was at this time analogous to that of the year before, when Lincoln, looking down upon the tented fields from an eminence at Antietam after the escape of Lee, remarked, "That looks like the army of the Potomac, but it is only McClellan's body-guard."

Meade's absence from the dedication ceremony was suggestive of his smarting under the sting of the President's letter expressive of dissatisfaction with the result of the battle, and because of which he had asked to be relieved of his command. At any rate, the man who most had made the dedication possible kept in the back-ground, on the plea that his army "had duties to perform that would not permit of being represented." There had been no meeting of Lincoln and Meade since the battle, nor had the President since then visited the victorious army of Meade, whose Fabian policy of the past four months intensified the prevailing feeling of distrust.

Thus we see that Lincoln, at the Gettysburg period, had not reached the level of a popular idol. Moreover, he had thus far attracted no special attention in the Presidential chair by his eloquence or literary culture, except possibly by some passages in his first inaugural, and by his recent letter to James C. Conkling of Illinois, with its quaint reference to "The Father of Waters going unvexed to the seas," and to the exploits of "Uncle Sam's Web-feet." To Lincoln had been assigned, in the ceremonies of the dedication, nothing more than the playing of the second fiddle, with no expectation of extraordinary results; hence the lack of interest in his presence.

Contemporary judgment on the merits of the address was tardy in expression, due largely to its being overlooked because of its extreme brevity or to the defective literary discernment of those who heard it at the time of its delivery or read it soon after. Ward H. Lamon would have us believe that it was not commented on as a production of extraordinary merit until after the death of the author, that its perfections escaped the scrutiny of the most scholarly critics of the day, on this side of the water, and that distinguished writers on the other side first saw in it a masterpiece,—all of which he asserts "without fear of contradiction." He names the London *Spectator*, *Saturday Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, and some other European journals as the first discoverers of its classical merits.

Lamon is not alone in this contention, but he and all other writers fail to specify the language and date of any such publi-

cations. Extensive search thus far fails to reveal anything of prior foreign appreciation. In fact, enough has come to light to dispose of all such pretensions, and this independent of the well-known letter of Edward Everett to Lincoln the day after the Gettysburg ceremonies, expressing admiration of what he said there.

True it is that nearly all of the leading editors, like Bennett, Bryant, Greeley, Medill, Forney, Willis, Bowen, and Weed, made no comment on the address when printing it, and of these, it should be remarked, Forney heard the address as it fell from Lincoln's lips. But there was one man of superior judgment—Josiah G. Holland, who was quick to see in Lincoln's words something far above the ordinary, and the instant they came from the wires he dashed off the following lines which were printed in the Springfield, Mass. *Republican* the very next day:

"Surpassingly fine as Mr. Everett's oration was in the Gettysburg consecration, the rhetorical honors of the occasion were won by President Lincoln. His little speech is a perfect gem; deep in feeling, compact in thought and expression, and tasteful and elegant in every word and comma. Then it has the merit of unexpectedness in its verbal perfection and beauty. We had grown so accustomed to homely and imperfect phrase in his productions that we had come to think it was the law of his utterance. But this shows he can talk handsomely as well as act sensibly. Turn back and read it over, it will well repay study as a model speech. Strong feelings and a large brain were its parents,—a little painstaking its accoucher."

The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* said on the day after the address:

"The President's brief speech of dedication is most happily expressed. It is warm, earnest, unaffected, and touching. Thousands who would not read the long, elaborate oration of Mr. Everett will read the President's few words, and not many will do it without a moistening of the eye and a swelling of the heart."

Equally prompt was the Providence *Journal* with this complimentary editorial:

"We know not where to look for a more admirable speech than the brief one which the President made at the close of Mr.

Everett's oration. It is often said that the hardest thing in the world is to make a five-minutes' speech. But could the most elaborate and splendid oration be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring, than those thrilling words of the President? They had in our humble judgment the charm and power of the very highest eloquence."

Not far behind came, two weeks later, George William Curtis, who said in *Harper's Weekly*:

"Everett's address was smooth and cold. The few words of the President were from the heart to the heart. They cannot be read even, without kindly emotion. It was as simple and as felicitous and earnest a word as was ever spoken."

Charles A. Dana, in his *Recollections of the Civil War*, tells of Secretary Stanton saying to him, shortly after the address: "It will be read by a thousand men where one reads Everett's, and will be remembered as long as anybody's speeches are remembered who speaks the English language."

Within six months after Lincoln had spoken, Joseph H. Barrett in his biography of Lincoln wrote, "No truer or tenderer sympathy than Lincoln's for the brave dead and their surviving friends ever had place in human hearts."

The foregoing citations effectually dispose of the claims of Lamon and others, although credit must be given to Goldwin Smith for the following brilliant encomium in *Macmillan's Magazine* of February, 1865:

"That Lincoln is something more than a boor his address at Gettysburg will in itself suffice to prove. There are one or two phrases here, such as 'dedicated to the proposition,' which betray a hand untrained in fine writing, and are proofs that the composition is Lincoln's own. But looking at the substance it may be doubted whether any king in Europe would have expressed himself more royally than the peasant's son. And even as to form we cannot help remarking that simplicity of structure and pregnancy of meaning are the true characteristics of the classical style. Is it easy to believe that the man who had the native good taste to produce this address would be capable

of committing gross indecencies, that he would call for comic songs to be sung over soldiers' graves?"

Whatever tributes of a similar nature may yet be found in English publications, certain it is that they were not inspired by the following thrust of the American correspondent of the London *Times*, printed on December 4th, following the delivery of the address:

"The ceremony was rendered ludicrous by some of the sallies of that poor President Lincoln, who seems determined to play, in this great American union, the part of the famous Governor of Barataria. Anything more dull and commonplace it wouldn't be easy to produce."

That at the time of Lincoln's death the address was already recognized in this country as an extraordinary deliverance is evidenced by its being described as "now world renowned" by the editor of a volume called *The Martyr's Monument*, published at the suggestion of the eminent Francis Lieber immediately after the assassination.

Generous words of praise followed, for a period of three years after the assassination, from the pens of American and foreign writers. Of these we may cite the following:

Horace Greeley doubted whether our national literature contained a finer gem.

Bayard Taylor called the address "words of solemn breath."

John Malcolm Ludlow, of London, regarded it as one of the noblest extant specimens of human eloquence.

E. Dusegier de Hauranne, of Paris, wrote of it in *Revue des Deux Mondes* that "Modern eloquence has not produced a loftier address."

Ralph Waldo Emerson, speaking at Concord, Mass., said that the speech would not be easily surpassed by words on any recorded occasion.

Theodore L. Cuyler considered it "sublime in its pathos."

Joseph P. Thompson asserted that "Lincoln dedicated himself to the great task before him with a grand simplicity, worthy of Demosthenes."

Harriet Beecher Stowe believed that in no language, ancient or modern, could be found words more touching or eloquent.

The London *Westminster Review* is credited, without date, with the following:

"Lincoln's address has but one equal, in that pronounced upon those who fell in the first year of the Peloponessian war, and in one respect it is superior to that great speech. It is not only more natural, fuller of feeling, more thrilling and prophetic, but we know with absolute certainty that it was really delivered. Nature, here, takes precedence over art, even though it be the art of Thucydides."

POSSIBLE SOURCES OF LINCOLN'S INSPIRATION

Looking over the elaborate oration of Edward Everett who, at the dedication ceremonies, preceded Lincoln on the stand, we find a striking association of ideas in the two addresses, which has seemingly escaped the attention of previous writers. The presentation of the matter here implies nothing more than a suggestion of unconscious absorption of the language of another. As such only are the citations now presented.

Lincoln had before him, when he commenced the writing of his intended remarks, an advance copy of Everett's oration, sent by the author. He manifested so much interest in it that six days before the dedication he took it with him when visiting a photographer, and remarked to Noah Brooks, who accompanied him, that he would look it over between the sittings. Brooks says, in his *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, that the President admired Everett's thoughtfulness in sending his copy in order that he might avoid the same lines laid out for himself. The length and character of Lincoln's address were most probably deter-

mined by his perusal of Everett's. Here are the resemblances referred to:

Early in his oration Everett went back to the founding of the Republic thus:—"*The Union founded by some of the wisest statesmen that ever lived.*" Lincoln in like strain starts with the familiar words:—"*Our father brought forth upon this continent.*"

Said Everett:—"*We have assembled to pay the last tribute of respect to the brave men.....who laid down their lives, and whose remains here have been gathered into the cemetery which we consecrate this day.*" Quite similar were the words of Lincoln:—"*We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives.*"

Again eulogizing the soldiers, Everett referred to "*Those who nobly sacrificed their lives that their fellowmen may live in safety and honor.*" Lincoln used the more mellifluous and well-rounded phrase:—"*Those who here gave their lives that that nation might live.*"

Further on Everett spoke of "*The brave officers and men .....who bore their part in the tremendous struggle here.*" So too spoke Lincoln of "*The brave men living and dead who struggled here.*"

Everett believed the three days' struggle at Gettysburg decided whether "*The Union should perish or endure.*" Lincoln closed with the phrase:—"*Government of the people, for the people, by the people shall not perish from the earth.*"

These parallelisms may be explained as mere coincidences. Nevertheless the deep impression produced on Lincoln's mind by Everett's oration is found in the fact that he was able, a year after the dedication, when writing to some ladies in acknowledgment of a vase of flowers sent from the Gettysburg battlefield, to recall and quote from that oration Everett's tribute to the patriotism of American women.

Did Seward have a hand in the preparation of Lincoln's address, as he had in that of the first inaugural? It is known that the President showed it to him before finishing its composition

in Gettysburg. This was made clear in a letter written by Judge David Wills, the President's host in Gettysburg, and made public by William H. Shoemaker, of the Board of Education of Philadelphia, at a Lincoln celebration in that city on February 12, 1909. It reads as follows:

"It was on my official invitation that the President came to Gettysburg. Between 9 and 10 o'clock of the evening of the 18th of November, 1863, Mr. Lincoln sent for me to come to his room, he being my guest. I went and found him writing, and he said he had just sat down to put upon paper a few thoughts for the next day's exercises, and wanted to know of me what part he was to take in it, and what was expected of him. We talked over it all very fully. About 11 o'clock he sent for me again, and when I went into his room he had the same paper in his hand and asked me whether he could see Mr. Seward. I told him Mr. Seward was staying with my neighbor next door, and I would go and bring him over. He said, 'No, I'll go and see him.' I went with him, and Mr. Lincoln carried the paper on which he had written his speech with him, and we found Mr. Seward, and I left him with him. In less than half an hour Mr. Lincoln returned. The next day I sat by him when he delivered his immortal address, and he read it from the same paper on which I had seen him write it the night before."

We may also ask why it was that Lincoln failed to write the words "under God," in the two copies of the address prepared before leaving Washington. These appear in the final copy prepared in Gettysburg and were spoken from the platform there, thus making the closing sentence read—"that this nation, *under God*, shall have a new birth of freedom." In drafting his Emancipation Proclamation he inserted, by advice of Secretary Chase, the sentence invoking the favor of God. In the address he may have incorporated the words "*under God*," of his own accord or when reminded of it by Seward.

Whether Seward did or did not figure in the phraseology adopted by Lincoln, the fact remains that Lincoln showed him what he proposed to say. Hence we may assume that the address as delivered was regarded by Seward as not unworthy of

the author or the occasion, and this notwithstanding the assertion of Lamon, in his *Recollections*, that Seward said to Everett, after Lincoln had concluded—"He has made a failure and I am sorry for it; his speech is not equal to him." Lamon's probable inaccuracy in this statement is further emphasized by his imputation to Everett of a similar derogatory criticism, despite the latter's complimentary letter to Lincoln above referred to.

We now pass to the closing words of the address, the most familiar and most frequently quoted of Lincoln's utterances,—"Government of the people, for the people, by the people." Many writers have for years been tracing the origin of this phrase, the result of their studies being grouped as follows:

The earliest American source discovered is Chief Justice Marshall in 1819, to be found in his opinion in the case of McCulloch *vs.* Maryland:

"The government of the Union is emphatically and truly a government of the people. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit."

President Monroe, in his fourth message to Congress, November 14, 1820, referred to,

"A government which is founded by, administered for, and supported by the people."

Daniel Webster, in his reply to Hayne in the senate of the United States on January 26-27, 1830, spoke of,

"The people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people."

Theodore Parker employed these words in 1834, four years after Webster, and at later dates, and he is said to have used them in various forms. Speaking at Music Hall, Boston, July 4, 1858, on "The Effect of Slavery on the American People," he said:

"Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, by all the people, for all the people."

In Lamartine's *History of the Girondists*, published in 1850, is found the phrase, "The people themselves, and acting by the people and for the people." This appears in his discussion of Robespierre's theories.

Herndon, Lincoln's partner, says he gave Lincoln a copy of Parker's address and that Lincoln liked it so well that he marked the phrase and used it in his Gettysburg address.

Henry Wilson, writing to James Redpath from Natick, Mass., on November 27, 1860, used the words,

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people."

His letter was published in the Boston *Transcript* of the following day.

Rev. R. Heber Newton, at the time of the Lincoln centenary in 1909, called attention to Lincoln and Parker's joint use of this phrase, and at the same time noted the resemblance of the words of Lincoln, "We here highly resolve," and those of Pericles in a memorial address over Athenians who had fallen in battle, wherein occur the words "Nobly resolve."

As Lincoln may have drawn on Parker, Webster, Wilson or Marshall, we likewise find a train of foreign writers, beginning with George Thompson, the English reformer, who also may have appropriated the language of others.

In a speech in 1851 Thompson is credited with the phrase, "Government of all, by all, for all."

Twenty years earlier, one Schinz, at a public meeting at Olten, Switzerland, in 1830, is said to have used the words,

"All the government of Switzerland must acknowledge that they are simply from the people, by the people, and for the people."

Going back some five hundred years earlier, it is pointed out that in the preface to the Wyckliffe translation of the Scriptures appears the declaration,

"This Bible is for the government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

To cap the climax, one diligent researcher brings to light from the days of Pericles an address of Cleon, a tanner by trade, who in the year 420 B. C. announced to the men of Athens,

"I am in favor of the Democracy that shall be democratic, that shall give us the rule, which shall be of the people, by the people, for the people."

Of Lincoln's own opinion of his address we have scant knowledge. He wrote to Everett saying he was pleased to know that in his judgment the little he had said was not entirely a failure. He evidently did not consider it his best effort if we may judge from what he wrote to Thurlow Weed at a later date—"Everybody likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech, and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well, perhaps better, than anything I have produced."

Wayne MacVeagh, in the *Century Magazine*, November, 1908, says he turned to Lincoln, after the conclusion of the speech, with the remark: "You have made an immortal address." On the return trip to Washington MacVeagh again said: "The words you spoke will live in the land's language," to which Lincoln replied: "Oh! You must not say that; you must not be extravagant about it; you are the only person who has such a misconception of what I said."

Robert T. Lincoln, in a recent letter to the present writer, makes this contribution to our knowledge: "I know of no opinion of my father himself on the Gettysburg address. I was in Washington shortly after its delivery, and he read to me the note from Mr. Everett, complimenting him on it, but I do not think that he commented upon the speech. I am quite sure that I would remember anything of the kind. It is, I think, an indication that he was not greatly dissatisfied with it, that he wrote so many copies of it with his own hand."

MISCELLANY

Many writers on Lincoln have concerned themselves chiefly with the various extant versions of the address, the place and manner of its delivery, its preparation and how it was received by those who heard it. We append additional material relating to this and other phases of the subject, gathered from contemporary and later sources.

According to an analysis made by one Thomas Jefferson Davis, and published in the New York *Herald*, of February 11, 1911, Lincoln used in the 267 words comprising the address seven words of one letter, that of "A"; fifty words of only two letters, and fifty-four of three letters. The address, he adds, contains 196 words of one syllable, 50 of two syllables, and 21 of three or more syllables. Dr. W. Simonds, Professor of English Literature in Knox College, Ill., is credited with stating to Clark E. Carr, of Galesburg, Ill., that the address is composed of 20 per cent. Latin words and 80 per cent. Anglo-Saxon.

Nicolay, in his *Century* article of 1894, states—"There is neither record evidence nor well-founded tradition that Mr. Lincoln did any writing of his address, or made any notes on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg, as writing was impossible under such conditions." In this he is flatly contradicted by General Stahel, as noted elsewhere in this article. Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania is also on record as seeing the President write on the train, and as furnishing material for the purpose. Edward McPherson, Ben Perley Poore and Secretary Usher also dispute Nicolay's assertion, but Provost-Marshal General Fry concurs with him.

Rev. R. F. McClean, of Mechanicsburg, Pa., in a letter to the present writer in 1913, said:

"I do not remember seeing Lincoln having notes in his hand when he spoke at Gettysburg. He made gestures. I do not recollect if there was applause or not. If not, the unexpected brevity of the address might account for it, and it has been atoned for by the deservedly high place given it since in the minds and hearts of men and in literature and oratory."

Major-General Julius H. Stahel, in a letter to the author in 1911, wrote:

"I escorted President Lincoln from Washington to Gettysburg, and was with him in the same car when he wrote something on his knee, which I fully believe was the famous address which he delivered at the battlefield. I was near him when he delivered

that world-wide and celebrated dedication address. I will remember that Lincoln seemed to be impressed with the sanctity of the occasion, and delivered the oration in accord with his well-known nature, in an earnest, calm, dignified manner, and that the same was received and listened to by all by-standers with reverence due to the occasion. No one expected the President to deliver an oration, Edward Everett having been assigned for that purpose, and therefore it was but natural that the short address of the President should not have made the impression which it created later on. I do not remember that it was received with plaudit, but I know that it was received with the solemnity due to the occasion, and that the President on stepping forward was received with all honors and hearty applause. It was a memorable moment, and one which inspired each and every person present. To me it is one of the most treasured memories, holy in its influence, and patriotically inspiring."

Two additional personal letters may be quoted:

Joseph H. Choate wrote in 1913:

"I had supposed that Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg had been appreciated and admired from the day it was uttered."

Hon. Shelby M. Cullom wrote the same year:

"I cannot tell just when the address began to be appreciated; it was appreciated by some very soon after it was delivered and printed. It was so brief that the audience scarcely caught on to it before Lincoln had finished and sat down, but very soon after it appeared in type the people began to appreciate it, and the more they read it the more they appreciated it."

Newspaper notices read:

"As the tall form of the President was observed on the stand, the people shouted and Mr. Lincoln stepped forward to acknowledge the salute by one of his most graceful bows. No chair of state was there for the chief magistrate of the Republic, but an old, dingy uncushioned settee, which was the seat of the chief dignitaries of the nation during the exercises of three hours. That the President's address was the right thing in the right

place and a perfect thing in every respect was the universal encomium.—*Cincinnati Gazette,* November 23, 1863.

"The most attentive and appreciative listener of Everett when he spoke was Mr. Lincoln himself. He seemed to be absorbed in profound thought till the speech was broken by a mistake of the orator in saying 'General Lee,' where he should have said 'General Meade;' which caused the President to turn to Seward with a loud voice, saying, 'General Meade!' but the orator seemed not to hear it to secure a correction by the orator."—*Cincinnati Gazette,* November 21, 1863.

"In the afternoon of the address the President attended the Presbyterian church in Gettysburg, where Lieutenant-Governor-Elect Anderson, of Ohio, spoke. He walked to the church arm in arm with John Burns, the seventy-year-old citizen, and the only resident of the place who had fought in the ranks of the army in the three days' battle."—*New York Tribune,* November 21, 1863.

"The President's calm but earnest utterance of the brief and beautiful address stirred the deepest fountains of feeling and emotion in the hearts of the vast throng before him; and, when he had concluded, scarcely could an untearful eye be seen; while sobs of smothered emotion were heard on every hand. At our side stood a stout, stalwart officer, bearing the insignia of a captain's rank, the empty sleeve of his coat indicating that he stood where death was revelling; and as the President, speaking of our Gettysburg soldiers, uttered that beautiful, touching sentence, so sublime and pregnant of meaning—'The world will little note nor long remember what we say, but it can never forget what they here did,' the gallant soldier's feelings burst over all restraint; and burying his face in his handkerchief, he sobbed aloud while his manly frame shook with no unmanly emotion. In a few moments, in a stern struggle to master his emotion, he lifted his still streaming eyes to Heaven, and in low and solemn tones exclaimed, 'God Almighty bless Abraham Lincoln;' and to this spontaneous invocation a thousand hearts around him silently responded, 'Amen.'—Columbus, Ohio, *State Journal,* November 23, 1863.

Lincoln left Washington on special train for Gettysburg

Wednesday morning accompanied by Secretaries Seward, Usher, Blair, and other members of the Cabinet and officers of the army and navy. The Marine band accompanied them to the train and the President also had an escort from the First Regiment of the Invalid Corps, under command of Lieut. Fred R. Jackson, of Company A. Engine No. 236, Reuben Kepp, engineer, took the train, which arrived at Gettysburg at sundown. Secretaries Stanton and Chase sent a letter pleading that the pressure of public duties prevented their presence. Horatio Seymour was there and after the dedication ceremonies addressed the Fifth New York Artillery to whom he presented a flag.—*New York Herald*, November 20, 1863.

Unskillful telegraphic and stenographic service was responsible for the publication of many absurd versions of the address as it came from Gettysburg, as, for instance, the following which appeared in *Frank Leslie's* of New York, and in the *Inquirer* of Philadelphia:

> "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing the question whether this nation or any other nation so conceived, so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on the great battlefield of the war. We are met to dedicate it, on a portion of the field set apart as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives for the nation's life; but the nation must live, and it is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. In a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground in reality. The number of men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor attempts to add to its consecration. The world will little know and nothing remember of what we see here, but we cannot forget what these brave men did here. We owe this offering to our dead. We imbibe increased devotion to that cause

for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; we here might resolve that they shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, for the people, and for all people, shall not perish from earth."

SOME EULOGIES OF RECENT YEARS.

Speaking in Chicago, on Lincoln's birthday, 1896, President William McKinley said that "the words that Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg will live until time shall be no more, through eternity. Well may they be forever preserved on tablets of bronze, upon the spot where he spoke, but how infinitely better it would be if they could find a permanent lodging place in the souls of every American."

Speaking at the Lincoln centenary celebration on February 12, 1909, Springfield, Ill., William J. Bryan said: "His Gettysburg speech is not surpassed, if equalled, in beauty, simplicity, force and appropriateness by any speech of the same length in any language. It is the world's model in eloquence and condensation. He might easily rest his reputation as an orator on that speech alone."

Other comments read:

"It was at Gettysburg, when in a few lines, Lincoln rose to the highest summit of American oratory, because he voiced a prayer. He stated a dedication, he gave forth a great, patriotic sentiment which will inspire the American people as long as the Republic lasts; that was Lincoln in the dignity of his manhood, exemplifying what Americanism meant in the illustration of the great victory of Gettysburg and its moral import to the American Republic."—Governor Charles H. Hughes, New York, 1908.

"Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg set a new seal upon love

of country, and upon the motives which should warm the hearts of the living and of those yet to be. That utterance will remain as one of the great efforts of oratory in unparalleled beauty, depth and power."—Albert Kern, Dayton, Ohio, 1909.

"Great as has been the influence of the battle of Gettysburg, it may be doubted, whether in the long run the influence of Abraham Lincoln's speech will not prove an equally effective force upon democracy and liberty, and the destiny of the human race. Wonderful in its simplicity, purity and sunniness, of style, it is wonderful also, because of the number of mother ideas of liberty that it contains. The greatest thing about the battle of Gettysburg is the fact that it made possible the speech of Abraham Lincoln, that has changed the history of liberty for all time to come."—Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, address on the battlefield of Gettysburg, 1913.

"Lincoln's Gettysburg speech was a new coin dropped from the mint of the Anglo-Saxon language."—Rev. D. F. Pierce, Watertown, N. Y., 1906.

"If ever there was an amendment to the Ten Commandments Lincoln's Gettysburg speech takes its place as such. Both are imperishable."—Rabbi R. L. Coffee, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1908.

"Lincoln's address at Gettysburg will survive as long as the memory of that terrific struggle abides with men. How chaste it is. How completely it fits the occasion and the time. The language is simple. It has in it heart and soul and patriotism."—Vice-President Charles W. Fairbanks, Harrisburg, Pa., 1909.

"Lincoln's address at Gettysburg is the longest epigram and the shortest oration in literature, and next to the Declaration of Independence the greatest public document."—Lucius L. Solomons, San Francisco, Cal., 1909.

"Lincoln's address at Gettysburg is a mirror of his noble thought, of his force and grace of diction, of his clear white light in which he lived and worked. The English tongue has nothing else so near perfection in so sublime atmosphere."—Ellis H. Roberts, Utica, N. Y., 1906.

"In all encompassing patriotism, in great love of humanity, that wrung it from the tortured heart of him who leads the list

among the world's patriots, I consider Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address the greatest piece of all literature. It must ever give the hearts of men to value more profoundly the travail through which this Union struggled to stronger life; and strengthen their souls to guard our country's free institutions, that their blessings undiminished may be preserved for those who shall come after us."—Helen D. Longstreet (widow of the Confederate General), Gainesville, Ga., 1912.

"Lincoln's address at Gettysburg is nothing accidental or surprising; it came from the training and temperament of the man."—Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, Altoona, Pa., 1901.

"Lincoln's Gettysburg address is the shortest great speech in the world. Only a great man would have limited himself to one paragraph, and only a great man could have put into that one paragraph a great address."—*Buffalo Inquirer*, 1901.

"Lincoln's education was not meagre. It was broad, full and varied. Lincoln was self-educated. A university education would not fit a man for a Gettysburg speech."—*Cincinnati Inquirer*, 1901.

"The name of Lincoln is not like that of many distinguished patriots, coupled as if indissolute with the flag. The Gettysburg address does not mention the flag; it is occupied with "the people." "freedom," "the equality of mankind."—Utica N, Y. *Globe*, 1912.

"In Lincoln's masterly and magnanimous speech was epitomized the noblest political platform ever given to the people."—Providence *News*, 1912.

"Lincoln was not a brilliant man, and yet no American from the birth of the Republic to the present day has given utterance to sentiments that are equalled in eloquence or that will survive as long as the brief oration of Lincoln on the battlefield of Gettysburg."—Wilkes-Barre *Record*, 1904.

"The speech will echo and re-echo forever. It states in a few lines the whole history, genius, faith, philosophy, and aspiration of this Republic."—Cedar Rapids, Iowa, *Times*, 1901.

"The Gettysburg address is counted one of the classics of oratory. To place the simple words of a self-educated American

rail-splitter and country lawyer above the phillipics of Demosthenes, the speeches against Cataline by Cicero, or even the modern orations of Pitt, and Hampden, Henry, Webster and Everett, is a tremendous tribute to the matchless words of the martyred President."—Troy, N. Y., *Record*, 1909.

"The Gettysburg address is a sort of minor testament of radical idealistic Americanism, breathing the spirit of the Declaration without faltering, a trumpet-blast to rally us around our loftiest national ideal."—Grand Rapids, Mich., *Tradesman*, 1909.

SOME CURIOUS COMMENTS

In sifting material for the preparation of this article, the following curious and absurd statements regarding the address have been culled from books, newspapers, magazines and other publications:

Professor Longfellow joined the Presidential party on the train for Gettysburg. His failure to deliver the oration, for which he was scheduled, caused much disappointment.

After his visit to Gettysburg [November 19, 1863] Lincoln determined to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. [January 1, 1863.]

Henry Ward Beecher was a striking figure when he stepped forward to make the closing prayer.

It required three hours for Edward Everett Hale to deliver the oration of the day.

Before Lincoln spoke Secretary William H. Seward delivered a masterly oration.

In the preparation of his oration, Edward Everett occupied himself for seven months.

After perusing the address of Lincoln, Queen Victoria said it was the best speech she had ever read.

Lincoln's speech was only an incident. The orator of the occasion was William Everett.

Lincoln was heard to say to Everett, "I haven't written a word; it will have to come from my heart."

Lincoln sat on the platform between Charles A. Dana and Everett, the orator of the day.

It was reserved for a young Southern Confederate soldier dying in Lincoln's arms, to make to him the full revelation of the high character of his speech.

THE ADDRESS PICTURED

Probably the first memorial of the Gettysburg dedication was that by Alfred H. Bicknell, fifteen years after, when he finished and placed on exhibition a canvas ten by seventeen feet, showing Lincoln and twenty other life-size figures on the stand. Lincoln is the central figure, and is represented as having just finished his address, and Everett as having retired to a seat behind him. On Lincoln's right are Fessenden and Seward, and behind them are Hamlin, Andrew, Fred. Douglass, Grant, Butler, Johnson, Meade, Chase, Sumner, Welles, Stanton, Oliver P. Morton, Greeley, Henry Wilson, Seymour, and Generals McClellan and Howard. Of the twenty-one persons in this picture only four were actually present,—Lincoln, Everett, Seward and Seymour. The purpose of the artist, he explains, was to bring together on one canvas the men most prominent in the civil war period, and he took the Gettysburg incident as a fitting means. The picture was bought in 1883 by E. S. Converse, who presented it to the city of Malden, Mass., where it now is.

A POETICAL TRIBUTE

As a fitting conclusion we reproduce the following lines from the "Gettysburg Ode," written in 1869, by Bayard Taylor:

"After the eyes that looked, the lips that spake
Here, from the shadows of impending death,
  Those words of solemn breath,
  What voice may fitly break
The silence, doubly hallowed, left by him?
We can but bow the head, with eyes grown dim,
  And, as a Nation's litany, repeat
The phrase his martryrdom hath made complete,
Noble as then, but now more sadly sweet:
"Let us, the living, rather dedicate
Ourselves to the unfinished work, which they
Thus far advanced so nobly on its way,
  And saved the perilled state!
Let us, upon this field where they, the brave,
The last full measure of devotion gave,
Highly resolve they have not died in vain!—
That, under God, the Nation's later birth
  Of Freedom, and the people's gain
Of their own sovereignty, shall never wane
And perish from the circle of the earth!"
From such perfect text, shall song aspire
  To light her faded fire,
And into wandering music turn
Its virtue, simple, sorrowful, and stern?
His voice all elegies anticipated;
  For whatsoe'er the strain,
  We hear that one refrain:
"We consecrate ourselves to them the Consecrated!"

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LINCOLN'S ADDRESS.

From contributions innumerable on the subject, the following are deemed worthy of special attention:

William H. Lambert. The Gettysburg Address, how written, how received, its true form. In *Pennsylvania Magazine for History and Biography*, October, 1909, and in reprints.

John G. Nicolay. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. In *Century Magazine*, February, 1894, and in reprints.

Frederick Gotwald. Gettysburg-Lincoln's Address, etc. York, Pa., 1907.

Henry S. Burrage. Gettysburg and Lincoln. New York, 1906.

Charles Burrows. The Lincoln Memorial Tablet, Rutherford, N. J., 1911.

Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews. The Perfect Tribute. New York, 1906.

George F. Parker. The possible origin of a Lincoln phrase. In the *Review of Reviews Magazine*, February, 1901.

Wayne MacVeagh. Lincoln at Gettysburg. In the *Century Magazine*, November, 1909.

James Grant Wilson. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. In *The Independent*, 1913, Vol 74.

Samuel A. Green. Address. In Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, May, 1901.

C. S. Barbour. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Rochester, N. Y., 1906.

Clark E. Carr. Lincoln at Gettysburg; an address. Chicago, 1908.

Report to the Legislature of Pennsylvania relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, by the Board of Managers, Harrisburg, Pa., 1867.

Horatio King. Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg; facts about his famous speech. In Washington *Critic*, February 17, 1888.

Henry Clay Cochrane. Lincoln's Escort on Gettysburg Speech. In Philadelphia *Ledger*, February 11, 1909.

F. T. Miller. Portrait life of Lincoln, told from original photographs, collected by Edward B. Eaton. Springfield, Mass., 1910.

George M. Graham. Analysis of Gettysburg Address. In Philadelphia *North American*, November 19, 1913.

H. E. H.
DUPL.

71.2009.084 04924